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A D M I N I S T R A T I O N ,

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F R A N C E ; .

I L L U S T R A T I N G

The V I E W S of that ambitious Crown on all
FLANDERS, from authentick Proofs; and shew-
ing that His MAJESTY's commanding the Confede-
rate Army in Person, is the only Way of being really
at the Head of the Confederacy, and of humbling that
haughty hereditary Enemy.

In a L E T T E R to a Noble Lord in the *Opposition*.

D U B L I N :

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An APOLOGY for the Conduct of the present Administration, as to Foreign Affairs generally, but particularly with Regard to *France, &c.*

My LORD,



THOUGH I may esteem you as an Orator and a Writer, I cannot as a Statesman and a Patriot, because you appear to me to be either an exceeding bad *Politician*, or a very bad *Englishman*. You deserve not the Name of the *latter*, if you speak, write, and oppose from Motives of Ambition and Disappointment, or to be revenged of either a *Superior* or Equal; nor to be ranked among the former, if you be really of Opinion that we have not changed Measures with Hands; and that the present Ministry have not behaved as became good Subjects and faithful Servants.

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I might here enter minutely into your Lordship's Conduct ever since you thought proper to oppose the Court because you was not permitted to *dictate* there ; but I chuse to wave, at this Time, a Discussion which must give you uneasiness, and to myself no Pleasure. Besides, I never knew any Good come of Expostulation with Men of your Complexion ; let the Glass held out to them reflect Objects never so truly ; let it shew Failings never so tenderly and obligingly, *Self-Opinion* and *Resentment* ingross them too far to admit of Amendment from Reproof. Therefore, my Lord, despairing of your Conversion, I leave you in full Possession of your *Patriotism*, and of the high Honour and Credit with the *disgusted*, resulting from it. I drop you as a *Patriot*, to convince you, or if that be impossible while you are infected with the *Patriot-Jaundice*, to confute you as a Statesman. Tho' I should fail to persuade you of the Rectitude of our late Measures, I may have better Success with those whom your late Declamations hath soothed into a contrary Belief ; and in our present Circumstances, every Acquisition of this Kind, is an Addition of Strength against the common Enemy.

Your Lordship's Rank, Learning, and Wit, but more your Resentment and Turn to *Satire*, intitle you to Pre-eminence among the *Disappointed*, and qualify you for their Chief. Whilst one more distinguished, and far more dangerous,

dangerous, lived, you held but the second Place; but since he is no more, I know of none so well intitled to the principal Direction of the *Opposition* as yourself. Even whilst that great Man lived and guided the *Restive*, many thought you better qualified to lead than him. It was urged, you were more learned, more steady, and less parcimonious, and had wrote as well as you spoke. But on the other Side, it was objected, that tho' you spoke more learnedly, yet your Discourses did not sink so deep, nor made that Impression; and that, was you capable of Writing, he was more capable of heading on Occasions of Danger and Importance. But, my Lord, that very great Man is gone, and you, whether less or greater, which I leave to the Decision of the Public, are his Successor in the Command. To you then ought all Applications to your Party be made; and to you therefore, I thought it proper to address an *Apology* for mine.

It has been the Admiration of many, my Lord, that one who had heretofore made so free with your Constitution, would or could undergo the Fatigues of the *Field* or *Cabinet* as you have for many Years past, but particularly since the Influence of the present Ministry. The H——e has constantly echoed with your Declamations, and the extended Kingdom has rung with your Lucubrations. There was not a Measure of the
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new Ministry that has not been speech'd against within Doors ; nor an Individual of them that has not been blackened and vilified without. A monstrous Fatigue, my Lord, to speak and write for ever ; and the more so, for being obliged to have your Invention ever on the Stretch, as one must who has a bad Cause to defend, and a good one to depreciate.

I have often and really commiserated your Lordship's Situation. You had Spirits but not Strength proportionable to your Undertakings ; I mean bodily Strength, my Lord ; for as for Strength of *Conceit* and *Resentment*, no Mortal refuses your Lordship as much of it, as ever was imputed to *B———ke* or *A———e*. You see what is already become of the *latter* from his *over-eagerness* to grow popular, and what is like to become of the *former* from *over-acting* a Part, which all the Nations despise him for attempting. My Lord, there are but certain Parts of the political *Drama* suited to certain Capacities, tho' the Misfortune is, that oftentimes some Men imagine themselves equal to all the Parts of it. Whenever it happens that a Leader of a Party, or one that would lead, thinks himself qualified for every Shape his Vanity may prompt him to assume, there is no End to his Labour : His Life is one continued Round of Anxiety and Fatigue. My Lord, tho' you are spritely from Nature, the Hurry
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of your Spirits and Perturbations of your Mind, are as visible as the Emaciation of your Body, tho' all the luxuriant Stores of Nature are exhausted to restore its Strength and Vigour,

The lamentable Situation to which your Lordship has reduced yourself, I suppose, that you may be recorded in the Annals of *Opposition*, has moved my Pity. I am come therefore to your Relief, whilst yet there are some Sparks of that Fire left, which I have often seen successfully employed upon Trifles; whilst yet there are any Remains of that sarcastical Sprightliness which not long since shone forth so elegantly in Defence of the Indecencies, Obscenities, and Immoralities of the Stage; whilst, in short, my Lord, there is any of that Wit left, which enlivens tho' it cuts, I would fain come to your Aid, and rescue you from yourself. Should you go on in the Course you are now, it is impossible you can see the next Fall of the Leaf; and what a heavy Loss would it be, next Winter, to certain noble young Orators, to lose their Back and Buckler, to Coffee-house Politicians to lose *Saturday's* Lectures, and to the Ladies to lose the Patern of Dress and Address?

In Pity therefore, not only to your Lordship, but the Multitude that live by you and upon you, and copy after you, I presume to prescribe to you, unasked, and perhaps un-
thanked

thanked for my great Care and Cordiality. Whether or no I shall be so lucky as to preserve a Life so precious to Society, I cannot say, but affirm my Method is the likeliest to prolong it. For any thing I know, the late Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act has contributed more than all the *Materia Medica* to spin out your precious Thread to this Time; for considering the Occasions and Openings for two Months last past, if the Freedom of *inveighing* and *traducing* had been unconstrained as usual, it is more than probable you would have wrote and spoke yourself to Death in that Interval. Happy Restraint on an o'erflowing Gall and unbounded Licence !

Not to keep your Lordship in such Suspence as you have, happily for yourself, been lately kept by Parliament, my Remedy is adapted to the Cure of your *Mind* only. Could I be so happy as to give Ease and Content to that Spiritual Part of you, I should not doubt of bridling that Tongue, and stilling that Hand which you employ too arduously on the Side of *Opposition*. A calm and composed *Mind* contents itself with moderate Exercise, because it sees and judges without Prejudice; but a Mind disturbed, and particularly should it be by *Resentment* and *Ambition*, seeing and judging every thing partially, runs into all the Extremes of har-
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ranguing and Writing, which slackens and enfeebles all the Springs of human Nature.

'Tis very probable the ensuing Campaign will be attended with great Variety of Incidents, which may be improved by an able Pen to the Disreputation of those who are least answerable for Mistakes or Misfortunes in the Field. And even should Success attend our Arms in every Step, yet a teeming Brain, such as your Lordship's, may, by Side-wind Reflections, artful Insinuations, and strained Constructions, turn that to Poison, which ought to restore national Harmony and political Health. As the industrious Bee extracts Honey from the bitterest Flowers, an industrious Writer, particularly when his Pen is tipp'd with *Spleen* and *Disappointment*, shall extract Discontent and Disaffection from the fairest Actions, and best concerted Measures that ever were. My Lord, 'tis to save you this *Herculean* Labour that I approach you before the Campaign begins in Form. The present shatter'd Condition of your Lordship's Constitution won't bear the mighty Fatigues of writing the Nation into ill Humour, and a general distaste of the Conduct of their Generals in the Field, and their Statesmen in the Cabinet. You can't conceive how excessive fatiguing it will be to persuade your Countrymen, that the Confederate Army is beat, should the *Grand Monarch* turn his Back upon the Field of

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Battle ; recollect the infinite Labour it cost you to explain away the Victory at *Dettingen* last Summer, and reserve your Strength for a Winter's Campaign : Moderate Exercise, and Moderation in Diet, may recover your Constitution, by bracing up your slacken'd Fibres ; but should you exercise your Brain and Pen as immoderately the ensuing Summer as you have the last Winter, I pronounce you already an Inhabitant of the Shades below : How great the Loss to the busy Swarms about this great Town, who live comfortably by retailing your Orations, Dissertations, and Songs !

But we will hope you have had a Surfeit of vain, laborious Writing ; we will hope you are become conscious of the Vanity of endeavouring to draw off a Nation from their Duty to a Prince, who governs by Law ; or from their Esteem for a Ministry that pursue the true Interest of their Country : And, that you may be conscious of the Injustice, as well as Vanity, of such a fruitless Attempt for the future, I shall be at the Pains of laying before your Lordship a Summary of the Measures of the present Administration : As for his Majesty, he ought to be entirely out of the Dispute ; he is incapable of Wrong : But was he otherwise, his Ministers only, by your own Doctrine, are accountable ; therefore, I shall only confine myself to a Justification of their Conduct
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since the late Change. Your Lordship is not to expect a minute Detail of their public Transactions since they have had the Direction of Affairs; such a Discussion would be needless, and would lead us both farther than we desire: If I shew that their Plan was right, and that they wrought upon it methodically, and, I may say, successfully, I think I shall have done all that is necessary for laying your Lordship's Jealousy, and for inducing you to lay aside your Pen, and bridle your Tongue for the ensuing fine Season, at least.

The Cry against the late Minister was, that he too passively trusted the *French* Protestations of Peace, and Moderation: You, my Lord, as all the late Opponents, and almost the whole Nation, join'd in arrainging the too pacific Conduct of that Statesman; you imputed our Subserviency to *France* to his Pusillanimity, as well as the Loss of *Lorraine*, and *Naples*, and *Sicily*: In short, you join'd in imputing to his Cowardice, or Unwillingness to embark in a War, the general Influence acquir'd by *France* all over *Europe*, before the Change of our Ministry: You complain'd the late Emperor had been abandon'd impolitically and injuriously whilst living, and his Daughter most unjustly and imprudently after his Decease.

Thus stood the Character of that Minister; thus was the public Complaint founded

against him, at the Time of his being oblig'd to retire. I own I was one of those that had complain'd in your Lordship's Company, and I take a Pride to own also, that I owed my Prejudice to that Minister's over pacific Conduct, chiefly to your Reasoning.

But, my Lord, so alluring are the Charms of Truth, so powerfully does it actuate on the Mind, that your Reasoning, ever since the laying down of the late Minister, has had a quite other Effect upon me, and most others: Whilst you spoke and wrote on the Side of *Truth* you convinc'd, and made Profelytes; whilst you condemn'd the too pacific Conduct of Sir R—— W——, you were believ'd and follow'd: But since you condemn indiscriminately all the Measure of your Sovereign's Cabinet; since you condemn in this Administration, Measures which you wou'd have applauded in the last; since your Resentment prompts you to arraign a Conduct in the present Ministers, which is diametrically opposite to that which you censur'd in their Predecessor's; since, I say, you appear inconsistent, and too much actuated by Spleen, you must not wonder that you sink in the Opinion of Mankind, and most in mine who know you best.

The new Ministry are answerable for no Measures anterior to their Influence in the Cabinet, so that all you and your Fellow Labourers had said concerning the Partition of
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the *Prussian* Bear-Skin, the Neutrality for *Hanover*, and the *Vote* to the present Emperor, can be in no Sense applicable to the present Ministry; therefore, my Lord, if you wou'd be thought as much a Lover of Truth and Justice, as you are of Humour and Satire, you will divest yourself of all Prejudice to those now at the Helm, and take them up just where they stood upon the Dismission of the late Minister.

Need I put your Lordship in Mind of the confus'd, perplex'd Situation of Affairs, at Home and Abroad, when the present Ministry succeeded to the late? It is too well known to require a Repetition: Your Lordship is too well inform'd that the Confusion of Affairs at Home, prevented so early a Change in our Foreign as was to be wish'd, and was passionately fought by the new Ministry: Therefore, if there was not as immediate a Change of Measures as of Hands, remember, my Lord, it was owing to Necessity, and the Strength of domestic *Opposition*. It was impossible of a Sudden to change the Plan of the late Minister; he had been sunk in the Opinion of all *Europe* for his Passiveness and Indulgence to *France*, and it must require some Time to efface the Prejudice contracted of our Councils; the Confidence of foreign Courts could not be acquir'd in an Instant. But, my Lord, you are too equitable not to admit that every early Step was taken which
Prudence

Prudence cou'd dictate, to efface the Prejudice of the Powers of *Europe*, and recover their Confidence: And let me say, whether or no you are pleas'd to admit it for a Truth, that they have succeeded to a Miracle, considering how deeply Length of Time had rooted the public Prepossession in Disfavour of our Power and Wisdom; and let me add, of our Sincerity and Honour also: Both these last were impeach'd, and but too justly, for refusing the late Emperor our Assistance against *France*, and for not aiding his Daughter, when she was on the Point of being swallow'd up by the Power and Artifice of that ambitious Crown.

By taking a cursory View of the State of Affairs on the Continent, of the Convulsions at Home and the Prejudices Abroad, when the present Ministry were at Liberty to act, we shall be best able to judge of the Merit of their Conduct. *France* led her conquering Armies into the Heart of the Empire, and was in Possession of Part of *Austria*, and almost all *Bohemia*, the Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland* were in her Alliance, the Election of the Emperor was fix'd, the *Spaniards* had taken Footing in *Italy*, the King of the *Sicilies* was openly in their Interest, and the King of *Sardinia* temporiz'd, not willing to embark with the House of *Bourbon*, and loth to risk his All by allying against it; I need not mention the low Ebb

to which the Circumstances, and even the Expectations of the Queen of *Hungary* were sunk ; frighten'd from her Capital, and, having no Reliance but on the Fidelity of Subjects, whom her Father and Ancestors had us'd ill, what Hopes could she have of surmounting her Difficulties ? Nay, what Hopes did your Lordship entertain of ever seeing the House of *Austria* in the good Plight it is in at present ? You had none, my Lord ; I am a Witness that you despair'd of ever seeing *France* abandoning her Schemes of partitioning out the *Austrian* Hereditary Dominions among her Creatures.

Here was a most gloomy, unfavourable Prospect before the Eyes of Men that had strong Prejudices, both at Home and Abroad, to struggle with ; but, my Lord, they encounter'd the Dangers, and surmounted the Difficulties in their Way, like wise and intrepid *Englishmen*, and were *Italians* : Like the latter they saw the Dangers, and like the former they fac'd them ; like *Italians* they laid their Plan with Caution and Prudence, and like brave *Englishmen* they boldly executed what their Wisdom had projected : In short, my Lord, the New Ministry succeeded to the Confusion of *France*, and to the Admiration of all *Europe*. The Examination of their Conduct in so critical a Conjunction, will be the best Justification I can offer of their Wisdom, Integrity, and Steadiness, and
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the strongest Confutation of their Opponents and Enemies.

France had form'd her Plan of reducing the House of *Austria*, by severing her Territories, and dividing them among the several Pretenders to the Succession of the late Emperor, with a View, no Doubt, of securing to herself such Part of her Dominions as was contiguous to the *French* Possessions: But previous to her Proceeding on this Plan, she tried the Pulse of the young Queen of *Hungary*, in Regard to the *Netherlands*: Could she have found that heroic Princess inclin'd to gratify her in a Cession of those Provinces, the World would have seen *France* faithful in her Engagements concerning the *Pragmatic Sanction*; but meeting with Obstacles in this her favourite Scheme, the Court of *France* turn their Thoughts on ruining the obstinate Queen of *Hungary* at Home. The King of *Prussia* was encourag'd to set up old Pretensions on *Silesia*, and fall upon it with a great Force in the most inclement Season of the Year: It was necessary for *France* that the bloody Scene should be open'd by a Prince, not, as yet, stigmatiz'd for being a Creature of her's. *Saxony* and *Bavaria* follow'd the Example of *Prussia*, and were seconded by the greatest *French* Force that had ever appear'd so far from Home.

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What had the new Minority to do to defeat the Schemes of *France*, and preserve the House of *Austria*, now threaten'd on all Sides with utter Destruction? There was no tampering with *Bavaria*, being too far in the Power of *France*; *Saxony* could not be brought to lead but would follow; therefore *Prussia* was the only Power to be tried and practiced on. Could that Prince be brought off; could he be wean'd from *France*, we might embark with the Queen of *Hungary* with a View of Success. But he had gone too far to recede with Honour, without obtaining what he unsheathed the Sword for; besides, that Prince had set his Heart upon *Silesia*, and he would not treat without it. He already had most of it, and could not fail of having all and keeping it too, if he continued his Alliance with *France*. Was it not then, my Lord, a great Point gain'd to break all the Measures of *France*, by only influencing the Queen of *Hungary* to cede a Province she was not able to keep? 'Tis probable the Possession of *Silesia* by *Prussia*, may influence the Cause of *European Liberty*, as much and as effectually as if that Province did remain with the late Possessor; and on this Supposition, our influencing the Queen to cede that Part of her Dominions could be attended with no bad Consequences of any Kind.

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I need not point out to your Lordship the Rectitude and Success of that first Measure of the present Ministry. The Matter is too self-evident to require a minuter Discussion. That *Coup de Maitre* had all the Effect that could be expected; all the Measures of *France* were thereby disconcerted; She lost her Influence not only in *Germany* but all over Europe, as may be perceived by the King of *Sardinia*'s throwing himself immediately under the Protection of *England*, and allying closely with the Court of *Vienna*. The new Ministry could not recall what their Predecessors had done; they could not command back the Troops of *Spain* from *Italy*, but they took care they should be of no Use there, by stopping up from them all the Avenues of Supply. Has not the Success in *Germany* and *Italy* corresponded with the Rectitude of the Measures taken by us, for supporting a natural Ally and abating the Pride of our Hereditary Enemy?

This cannot be deny'd, nor as little can the present Ministry be refused the Glory of having taken every proper Step that could conduce to the main Point they had in View, which was to reduce *France* within such Bounds as could not endanger publick Liberty. My Lord, this was a favourite Point with you whilst you join'd in the Opposition to the late Minister; it was so with all his Opponents; and I may say, it was such with
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the whole Nation. How comes the Public then chang'd in respect to this favourite Point? Pray, my Lord, how comes your Lordship chang'd with that Public? Were you really chang'd before you endeavour'd to change the Public; or has your writing them out of their Senses, alter'd your own way of thinking? Or rather, are you still of the same Opinion you was when you opposed the late Minister and *France*, but appear otherwise, because you are not admitted to a Share of the Glory of humbling that haughty Neighbour? Your Lordship will excuse my Freedom. He who would work a Cure should probe to the Quick.

But pray, my good Lord, consider the Contrariety of your Opinions. In the late Administration *France* influenced our Councils, ruin'd our Trade, and weaken'd our best Friends and Allies. The late Minister was a Poltroon, for bearing with her Insolence, and a Traytor to his Country for not taking her down to such a Level as should prevent her domineering over us or others. In those Days, there was no Risk, no Expence too great to pull down that intriguing, ambitious Crown. But how is your Lordship's Language chang'd since you saw such Measures taken as are likely to answer all the Purposes you seem'd lately to wish for? You wish *France* reduc'd, you say, but this is not the proper Time; we have slipt the Opportunity;

tunity; we should have fallen upon her when she was last at War with the late Emperor; we are not in a Condition to commence a *French* War; we are unally'd, and it is Madness to have provok'd that powerful Crown untill we were in a better Condition to take her down.

If I don't state all your Lordship's and your Adherent's Objections to the Conduct of the Administration, that is to their principal Measure, it is owing purely to want of Memory. For as I have taken the Pen in Hand to prescribe for your Lordship, and cure you if possible, I would sink none of your Objections, that I may have the Pleasure of clearing up all the Rubs that lie in your way to political Health.

I agree it was a Mistake not to have fallen upon *France* in Conjunction with the late Emperor; but I am of Opinion, that our View of Success is more extended now than even at that Time, tho' we might have had the Head of the Empire in the Confederacy. I look upon the Queen of *Hungary*, to be better counsell'd, better serv'd, more powerful, and a better Ally than ever her Father was; we have the King of *Sardinia* now with us, but he was then wholly against us; the *Dutch* had then enter'd into a Neutrality for the *Netherlands*, which they can't possibly do now, and therefore may be look'd upon as our Confederates. But that which
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mends the Prospect exceedingly on our Side is, that *France* is in a far worse Plight now than in those Days. She may put on all the Varnish of Health she pleases, and vamp and swagger with her sanguine Declarations of War; but, my Lord, we must shut our Eyes to all Reason and Observation if we don't think she is in a Decay, consumptive, and rotten at Heart. The Expence of *France* on account of the late Election of *Poland*, her Wars in Consequence of it, but particularly that carry'd on in *Italy*, was excessive. Her Loss of Men and Generals at that Time was very great; and what render'd her waste of Men and Treasure on that Occasion the more vexatious, is, that she was oblig'd to a greater before she could possibly have recruited.

France had been greatly exhausted on account of the Election of *Poland*; but her waste of Men and Treasure, since the Death of the late Emperor, has been infinitely greater. Need I enumerate her Losses and Expence since she broke Faith with the Heiress of *Austria*. All *Europe* can witness both, and can perceive that her present ostentatious Glare of Strength and Power, are like the Strugglings of a dying Man. She sums up all her Force to give one Blow that should cover her own real Weakness, and work upon the Irresolution of her Enemies. Let us but calmly and steadily stand this her last Effort,

fort, and we shall see her droop and dwindle into abject Cowardice, like most Bullies, and like herself in Queen *Ann's* Wars.

We are unally'd, you say; which I take the Liberty to deny. We have all the Allies we could wish for, except his *Prussian* Majesty, on whom we may much more surely reckon than *France* can. *Denmark* is secur'd, and *Russia* and *Sweden*; if they should not be with us, we are sure they won't act against us. We can't doubt of the *States General*; and as for the Shadow of an *Emperor* and such Princes of the Empire as may be in the *French* Interest, they could be of no Use to us, nor can they be of any to *France*, but will on the contrary, be a real Burden upon her.

Again, *it was Madness to provoke France till we were in a better Condition to oppose her*. Pray, my noble Speculatist, would you have had us look on till she should strip the Queen of *Hungary* of *Bohemia* and *Austria* for her I-p-r--l Vassal, and of all her *Italian* Dominions for the young *Dons* of *Spain*? What Condition should we be in then to oppose that mighty Power? Should our Condition be better than 'tis now or her's worse, by annexing the whole or any Part of the *Austrian Netherlands* to her other wide Dominions. Had she succeeded in *Germany* and *Italy* she must in *Flanders*. My Lord, you could not be in earnest when you advis'd us

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to postpone our Resentment till we should be in better Condition to oppose *France*. I admit our present Condition is not so promising as could be wish'd; but 'tis infinitely superior to that of the Enemy; and was it worse, it is our Interest to venture all in order to pull down the Pride of the only Power in the World we should wish lowest. We could never hope for a better Opportunity; we could never flatter ourselves with such another. *France* is sunk, and to a very low Ebb, in the Opinion of *Europe*; she is without Treasure, without Generals, without Statesmen, and without Allies, except *Spain* which is debilitated to the lowest Degree in Life, and without Hopes of any other Ally, except the King of the two *Sicilies*, whom our maritime Force can crush when we please.

What does your Lordship, what does the unmeaning Public mean by charging the Ministry with having provok'd *France* impolitically? Was it impolitic to have succour'd the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Sardinia* with Money, when those natural and necessary Allies must have been undone without such pecuniary Aid? Was it impolitic to preserve *Italy* from the Dominion of the House of *Bourbon*, our natural and mortal Enemy, by cooping up the *French* and *Spanish* Fleets in *Toulon*, and by obstructing all Succour to the *Spanish* Forces in *Lombardy*? Was it impolitic to secure the King of *Sardinia*, by our
naval

naval Force, from being over-run by the joint Arms of *France* and *Spain*? Ay, *but we went too far*. How, my Lord, was it going farther than we ought, to seize on all the *French* Ships we could, that had Treasure and Arms, Ammunition or Provisions on board for our Enemies the *Spaniards*, or for the Enemies of our Friends and Allies? And did we exceed in destroying the *Spanish* Gallies at *St. Tropez*, which were employ'd in carrying Succours to the *Spaniards* in *Italy*? Did *France* deserve any such dastardly Complaisance at our Hands as to pass by, unmolested an Enemy, in one of her open Roads?

No, my Lord, *France* was working on a Plan that would have carry'd her Power and Influence to a dangerous Height, had she succeeded; and it would be impolitic of us not to check her every where, and at all Times while she was intent on the Execution of that destructive Plan. We could not see our Friends undone without Hazard of being undone along with them. *Hazard*, did I say; our Ruin would be inevitable, should our Allies be ruin'd. There could be no Medium, either we must have suffer'd *France* to carry her Point every where, or we must have endeavour'd to prevent her every where: Had she desisted from her enslaving Enterprizes, we should have been as passive and civil as she could expect; but while she continu'd them, we could do no less

less than we did, without injuring our Allies, I may say, destroying them and ourselves. Therefore to arraign the Ministry for having provok'd *France*, is as much as to say, that he who watches arm'd over his Property, provokes a Highwayman or Housebreaker who intended to rob him, and would infallibly, if he had not watch'd and arm'd, to prevent the Enemy of all Society. The Ministers or Minister, who had concerted those vigorous Measures that provok'd *France* and baffled all his big Designs, far from meriting your Lordship's Reproof, or the Public's, deserve, indisputably, all the Thanks and Applause that a grateful People could bestow upon them.

The longer one considers the Wisdom of their Conduct the more he must be oblig'd to admire and applaud. They proceeded gradually ; and without omitting any one Thing or Measure that could obstruct the enslaving Carrier of *France*, they avoided coming to an open Rupture, that the Trade of their Country may be obstructed by the Corsairs of *France* as late as possible ; and that we might avail ourselves of our *defensive Alliances* with foreign Powers, by that Crown's declaring first against us. It was refin'd Policy, my Lord ; and you can't but own that all our Measures with Regard to *France*, were prudently and finely conducted.

I admit *France* was provok'd ; and that she was under a Necessity of coming to an open Rupture. But does not that Necessity, that Provocation, proclaim the Wisdom of our Councils and our Resolution ? We kept her in Suspence, but still obstructed her Views, till at last, perceiving our Drift, she did, or would seem to get the better of her Dread by chusing to have us for an open rather than secret Enemy. Had *France* had had a *Richlieu* or *Mazarine* in her Councils, she would have declar'd twelve Months sooner ; for her Delay has been our Gain, and may probably be the Occasion of her Ruin.

Your Lordship, I hope, won't support those, who, thro' Envy or Ignorance, impeach the Conduct of the *Nobleman*, who is thought to have had the chiefest Hand in directing our Councils to those steady Measures that had provok'd *France*, but prevented her, and preserv'd our Allies. Your Lordship can't join in the senseless Cry against that truly great Man, without arraigning your own Judgment, and give me Leave to say, your *Integrity* likewise. Has he gone any Lengths you did not advise, you did not think absolutely necessary when you and he join'd in opposing the too pacific and dangerous Measures of the late Minister ?

But,

But, my Lord, to be extremely serious, what must have become of our natural Allies, of the Ballance of Power, of *Flanders*, and of our own Liberties and Properties, had not that courageous, wise Minister interpos'd, and forced *France* from the elevated Summit she stood on when he had the *Northern Provence* assign'd to him? Consider the Figure that Crown made when the late Minister quitted the Direction of the Cabinet; and I beg you will consider how different a one she has made ever since, and makes even now. She sends round the Globe to hunt for Allies, who turn the deaf Ear to all her soothing Protestations; she sends the most adroit of her Ministers to the *Hague* to beg the *States General* would mediate her Peace, before scarce it could be said that she had declar'd War. My Lord, however pompous and artful Monsieur *Fenelon's* parting Speech was, 'tis easily seen by it, that he came to intreat, to beg the Mediation of the States. That Marquis would have spoke in quite another Tone, and so would his Court, had not the *Nobleman*, who is traduc'd Weekly in a *certain Paper*, not unknown to your Lordship, happily succeeded to the Confidence and partly to the Power, of the late Minister. But that I may not offend against that great, true *Englishman's* Modesty, by a Recapitulation of his

meritorious Action since he has been trusted, I will consider one other of your Lordship's Objections to the Conduct of the Ministry, which, however important, would have escap'd me, if I had not mention'd your Lordship's *Weekly Lucubrations*.

That favourite * Journal, my Lord, sets out or ends every *Saturday* with *Hanover*, *Hanoverian* Troops, *Hanover* Rudder, *Hanover* Interest, or, in fine, something relative to the Electorate of *Hanover*. I have neither Leisure nor Talents for answering all that your Lordship and your learn'd *Hussars* had wrote on the Subject of *Hanover*; and therefore, leaving you and them to hug yourselves with the Satisfaction of having vanquish'd all the Scribes in the Service of Truth and the Ministry, and having poison'd the Minds of the weak and undiscerning, I shall only trouble your Lordship with a few Interrogatories on the Subject, which you may chuse to answer or let alone, just as you please.

Was *France* the Hereditary Enemy and Rival of *England* before we had a Prince of the House of *Hanover* on the Throne? Was not the House of *Austria* look'd upon to be our natural Ally before we had a Prince that was a Member of the Empire? Would

* *Old England*.

Would it not be necessary to preserve that Ally; if the King had no Dominions in *Germany*; and would it not be necessary also to succour and secure the House of *Savoy* against *French* Influence, if *Hanover* had had no Being? Would not we think ourselves oblig'd in Interest to stem the late Torrent of *French* Influence and Conquest, tho' our Monarch had not a Foot of Land on the Continent? Should we not be oblig'd in Self-Defence, to obstruct the Progress of *France* to unlimited Influence, which she could not fail of, had she been suffer'd to execute her late Plan, tho' his Majesty had not been an Elector? And are we not, from Motives of Interest and Self-Defence, Enemies to the *French*, because we are sensible that they only wait for an Opportunity of destroying us, as being the only Nation in *Europe* able to stand in their Way to universal Power? If your Lordship should doubt it, I know no better Way to cure your Incredulity, than by setting before you, a Portraiture drawn of us, about eighty Years ago, by the brightest Political Genius of *France*, employ'd by *Lewis* the XIVth to draw up a Plan, by which he should shape his Measures for subjecting *Europe* and *England* in particular, to his Influence and Power.

“ As

* “ As for the *English*, they are a Na-
 “ tion without Friends, without Faith or
 “ Religion, without Honesty, or Justice
 “ of any Kind; they are jealous and sus-
 “ picious, and giddy and unsteady to the
 “ last Degree; they are cruel, impatient,
 “ voracious, proud, insolent and covetous;
 “ they are fit for sudden Attacks, but in-
 “ capable of conducting a War with Judg-
 “ ment. Their Country is well enough for
 “ subsisting Nature, but is not fertile or
 “ rich enough to furnish the Means of
 “ supporting great Armaments, or making
 “ Conquests. They never made any ex-
 “ cept that of *Ireland*, destitute of War-
 “ riors and Wealth; and on the contrary,
 “ they were conquered by the *Romans*,
 “ the *Danes*, the *Saxons* and *Normans*;
 “ even their present Race of Kings are
 “ sprung from their Conquerors. They
 “ hate one another, and are constantly
 “ divided about Matters of Religion or
 “ Government. A *French* War of three
 “ or four Years, would ruin them quite;
 “ wherefore it would seem prudent not to
 “ be at Peace with them, but upon hard
 “ Terms for them, unless his Majesty
 “ thought proper to defer the Execution of
 “ his Project, (*subjecting all Europe to his*
 “ *Laws*) till another Time; or that, urg-
 “ ed by his Love for his People, he
 “ would

“ would prefer their Ease and Tranquilli-
 “ ty, to his vast Hopes and Glory. And as
 “ one must be a Father to judge of paternal
 “ Affection, so must a Man be a King to
 “ judge of the Tenderness of a Prince for
 “ his People.

“ In short, if you would destroy the
 “ *English*, it is sufficient that you oblige
 “ them to keep always arm'd, and maintain
 “ a constant Standing Force. There is
 “ no Fear that they will attempt to make
 “ Descents in *France*; that would inevi-
 “ tably ruin them, unless they should be
 “ invited by Rebel Subjects here: If they
 “ are arm'd and have Troops, they will
 “ infallibly make War upon one another,
 “ and by that Means destroy themselves.

“ They must be kept in a large and
 “ continual Expence, wherefore they shou'd
 “ be alarm'd to a Jealousy concerning their
 “ Islands of *Jersy*, *Man*, and *Wight*, a-
 “ bout their *Cinque Ports*, and *Ireland*:
 “ By this Means, they will be oblig'd to
 “ keep strong Garisons, which will induce
 “ them to believe that their Prince has a
 “ View upon their pretended Liberties.
 “ As long as a King of *England* is arm'd,
 “ he will be hated by his Subjects. There
 “ should be a general Diffidence created a-
 “ mongst them, which may be done by
 “ writing Letters in Cypher to many par-
 “ ticular Persons, which may be order'd

“ so

“ so as to be intercepted. For, as they
 “ are extremely suspicious and imprudent,
 “ they will be easily persuaded that such
 “ Letters are not fictitious. Descents
 “ should be made upon *Ireland* and else-
 “ where; and the *Irish* should be encour-
 “ rag’d to revolt, which won’t be difficult,
 “ because they hate the *English* mortally:
 “ Even the *Scotch* might be encourag’d to
 “ recover their Liberties.

“ Party Divisions should be fomented;
 “ the different Sects should be alternately
 “ encourag’d, but particularly the *Catho-*
 “ *lick*. The *Benedictine* Monks, should
 “ be secretly treated with, and told, as if
 “ from the King, (Charles II. *who was*
 “ *not restored then*) that all their antient
 “ Possessions should be restored to them,
 “ which they will greedily swallow, and
 “ may be easily deceiv’d. They will move
 “ Heaven and Earth; and should they
 “ be able to persuade the *Catholicks* to
 “ rebel openly, all *England* will be in
 “ Confusion, and the Monarchy may be
 “ divided, towards which, it will be ne-
 “ cessary to improve the Rumour already
 “ spread, that their King is secretly a *Ca-*
 “ *tholick*.”

The Author has a great deal more on
 this Subject, but I shall only mention his
 last Words, where he says that, when the
Grand Monarch shall have strengthened
 himself

himself by Sea and Land, in the manner he has laid down, then, says he, * *you will find your English Enemies so weaken'd that you may easily overthrow and destroy them.*

My Lord, this Picture was drawn by the ablest Pen in *France*. It was not design'd for the Public; nor should we have had the curious Piece, of which it is but a small Part, if the Author's Vanity or Disgust for not being gratify'd, as he thought he deserv'd, had not induc'd him to publish his Works privately: But he paid as dear for his Indiscretion, having died in the *Bastile*. The only present Use I would make of the Author, who speaks of us but the Language of the whole Nation, is, to shew your Lordship that we ought to miss no favourable Opportunity of reducing the Power and Limits of a Nation, who have laid it down as a stated Maxim, never to miss any for distressing and destroying us. It is come to that pass between the Nations, that to *destroy* or *be destroy'd*, is the Word. My Lord, if we are to be destroy'd, let it be with the Sword in Hand. It would be inglorious for *Englishmen* to fall, unarm'd, and without attempting to destroy those who would destroy them. Had *France* succeeded in her late Scheme, it would be

E too

* Et trouvant alors les Enemies affoiblis, L'on achevera de les abattre, & de les renverser.

too late for us to arm : We must submit, like our Neighbours, at last, tho' our Situation might be a means of prolonging, for some Months or Years, the Date of our Servitude.

And what could hinder her succeeding, when she should have an Emperor her Pensioner and her S———e ; when most of the Princes of the Empire should be her Tributaries, either out of Fear or Affection, when she should have ruin'd the House of *Austria*, the only Power, together with the matitime, that had thwarted her Designs ever since the Peace of *Munster* ; when she should have parcell'd out the *Austrian* Dominions between her Creatures and herself ; when, I say, my Lord, *France* should, as she certainly could if her Schemes had succeeded, have divided the Spoils of the House of *Austria*, in *Germany*, between the Houses of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, her *Italian* Dominions, between the Sons of *Spain*, and taken the *Austrian Netherlands* to herself ; what could stand in her Way to universal Influence, which implies universal Monarchy ?

Whenever *France* gets Possession of the *Austrian Netherlands*, the *Dutch* must certainly become her *Tributaries*, at best ; and by the Addition of their Naval Force, which, in that Case she could command, she would be able to bring us under her Subjection,

Subjection, in spite of our Situation and Strength by Sea. Both may secure us against that haughty, ambitious Neighbour, whilst *Flanders* can be secur'd against her Power and Artifice : But I insist that our Ruin is inevitable, whenever she can force herself into the Possession of the ten *Austrian* Provinces.

This Possession, my Lord, is what *France* has most at Heart ; to subject the *Netherlands* to her Dominions has been the End of all her Wars, since the Death of *Henry* the IVth. She appear'd to arm for other Purposes, but *Flanders* was still the End she had in View. The Possession of *Flanders* had employ'd the Attention of all her Princes, all her Statesmen, and all her Writers for the last Century. Hear what the *French* Schemist, already quoted, says on this Head. * “ Tho’ *France* be a very
 “ powerful Monarchy, from its great Ex-
 “ tent, by its Situation, its Fertility, and
 “ the Number of its Inhabitants, it were
 “ to be wish’d, it is absolutely necessary
 “ for the Grandeur and Safety of *France*,
 “ that his Majesty (*Lewis* XIVth) would
 “ add to his Kingdom, first, all the *Ne-*
 “ *therlands* to the Banks of the *Rhine*.
 “ That Conquest would re-establish him in
 “ the antient Rights of his Crown, and re-
 “ store him to the Dominions of his An-
 E 2 “ cestors ;

“cestors ; it would render him Master of
 “the *Northern* Seas, and, consequently,
 “Arbiter of the Fate of *Denmark*, *Swe-*
 “*den*, and *Poland*, &c”.

But, to this Purpose, my Lord, I beg leave to trouble you with a Quotation from better Authority ; that of no less a Man than Cardinal *Mazarin*, who not only rais'd the Power of *France* to the Summit we have seen, but establish'd the Maxims by which she has, and does still shape all her Politics. That subtil Statesman, whilst the Negotiations for a general Peace were going on at *Munster*, in 1648, form'd a Scheme of annexing the *Austrian Netherlands* to the Dominions of *France*, by surprizing or forcing *Spain* into an Exchange of them for *Catalonia* and *Roussillon*, which *France* had conquer'd in the Course of that long War from *Spain*, by the Interest and Means of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, our late King *William's* Father and Mother.

I need not tell your Lordship, that in that long War, *France*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, were ally'd against the two Branches of the House of *Austria* in *Germany* and *Spain* ; nor that by her Alliance with *Holland*, she acquir'd an Influence over the House of *Orange*. The Cardinal's Scheme then was to sound the Prince of *Orange*, who, he says, in one of his Dispatches to the
 the

the French Plenipotentiaries at *Munster*, The Communication of this Project, will shew our Confidence in the Prince, which undoubtedly must oblige him. For he certainly has an intire Confidence in me, even so far as to consult me as to his Domestic Affairs. — Certainement il prend entiere Confiance en moi, Jusqu'aux choses meme de Son Domestique.

The Count *d'Estrade* was sent to *Holland*, by the Cardinal, to sound the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; and he was to insinuate that the Prince might find his Account in promoting the Designs of *France*, by his having the Marquisate of *Antwerp* for his Share; and, says he, in another of his Letters to *Munster*, wherein he applauds himself beforehand for the Success of his Scheme, *There is no doubt that if ever the Princess of Orange can be brought to imagine that she is to set her Foot in that Place, (Antwerp) there is nothing in the World she won't do, no Spring or Means she won't employ to compass it.* —

Ce qu'on doit tenir pour constant, cest que si jamais la Princess *D'Orange* se peut imaginer de Mettre le pied dans cette place, il ny a rien au monde quelle ne fasse, ni ressort, quelle N'emploie pour y parvenir.

After Monsieur *D'estrade* had sounded the Prince and Princess of *Orange* about the

the Exchange, and had given an Account of his Success, the Cardinal writes to *Munster*. ' The Count *D'Estrade* has acquitted himself like an able Minister, as he is, of his Commission. He persuaded the Prince of *Orange* to enter into all the Sentiments he would inspire him with. You see I was not mistaken, when I judg'd that that Prince would wish, at least as passionately as we, the Exchange of *Catalonia* for the *Netherlands*. '—Le Comte *D'Estrade* S'acquita en habile homme, comme il est, de sa Commission; le Prince *D'Orange* entra dans tous les Sentimens qu'il voulut inspirer. Cela me fait voir que Jene M'etois pas trompe, quand je jugeois que ce Prince Souhaiteroit pour le moins avec autant de Passion que nous, l'Echange de la *Catalogne* avec les Pais-Bas. —He finishes his Letter by congratulating *France* on the Success of his Negotiation with the Prince, *because*, he says, 'tis securing the Consent of the States-General to the Exchange, by Reason of the Prince's Address and Credit with his Countrymen.

I shall mention hereafter how happily this past Project came to be defeated, but, in the mean time, let me set forth that Statesman's Reasons for being so vehemently earnest to bring his Scheme of the Exchange to bear. Monsieur *D'Avaux*,
and

and the two other Plenipotentiaries at *Munster*, who were to open this Matter at the Congress, after the Prince of *Orange* had agreed to the Exchange, were not quite so sanguine as the Cardinal in the Affair; not but they as earnestly wish'd the Exchange, but they were apprehensive it would alarm *Europe* too far, and the *States-General* paticularly, who might, on that Occasion, quit the Alliance of *France*, and engage *England*, which could never acquiesce with the Exchange, to join them against that Crown as too dangerous, aspiring, and ambitious. To satisfy these Ministers, the Cardinal sets before them the great Utility of the Exchange, and the vast Advantages *France* would reap by annexing the *Netherlands* to her other Dominions. Herein appears the Genius of the *French* Nation, their Policy and their Views. The Tract comes from a Minister whose Maxims they have follow'd since his Time, and from which they will never recede till they shall have gain'd this great, this favourite Point, from the Accomplishment of which, no Means, humanly speaking, can prevent them, should not the present Efforts to reduce their Power, be bless'd with Success. For in the present Situation of *France*, there can be no *Medium*; if she happens to be stript of some of her usurp'd Acquisitions and reduc'd, *Flanders* will be
safe,

safe, and, consequently the Liberties of *Europe*, particularly of *England* and *Holland*. But should she, by disunion among the Confederates, want of the necessary Supplies, or any other Mismanagement add to her vast Acquisitions, or even be able to retain what she has in Possession, her general Influence will be as inevitable as her Power, to execute his choicest and standing Scheme of reducing the *Netherlands* to her Obedience.

My Lord, this Quotation, from Cardinal *Mazarin's* Dispatches to *Munster*, is long ; but I flatter myself it won't be disagreeable to an *Englishman* to have the secret Maxims, Policies, and Views of the hereditary Enemies of his Country, laid open to him. The following are the genuine Words of that able Statesman, taken as well as what is said further on this Subject, from *the secret Negotiation of Munster*, a curious Work, counted Authentic by the Learn'd of all *Europe*.

* ‘ I promis'd to state more particularly
 ‘ my Reasons for thinking it would be
 ‘ very advantageous for *France* to with-
 ‘ draw her Troops from *Catalonia*, and
 ‘ even from *Roussillon*, on Condition, that
 ‘ the King of *Spain* would consent to yield
 ‘ up the *Netherlands* and the County of
 ‘ *Burgundy*

* *Negotiation Secrettes de Munster, &c. Tom. 3. Pag. 21 & Suiv.*

‘ *Burgundy* (now the *Franche Comte*.) I
 ‘ will now perform my Promise in laying my
 ‘ Reflections before you, intreating you to
 ‘ give me your Thoughts upon them.

‘ First, the Acquisition of the *Nether-*
 ‘ *lands*, would form an impregnable Bul-
 ‘ wark to the City of *Paris*, the Capital of
 ‘ the Kingdom. In that Case, that Town
 ‘ might be truly said to be the Heart of
 ‘ *France*, and that it be situated in the Cen-
 ‘ ter and securest Part of the Kingdom.
 ‘ One might extend our Frontiers as far as
 ‘ *Holland*, and on the Side of *Germany*,
 ‘ whence any Danger may be apprehended,
 ‘ as far as the *Rhine*, by keeping *Lorrain* and
 ‘ *Alsace*, and by the Possession of *Luxem-*
 ‘ *burg*, and of the County of *Burgundy*.

2. ‘ By means of the Exchange proposed,
 ‘ we should get out of the present War with
 ‘ so great Advantage and Reputation, that
 ‘ the most malicious could not find Matter
 ‘ for arraigning our Conduct. The most
 ‘ envious and satyrical could not but think all
 ‘ our Blood and Treasure in the Prosecution
 ‘ of the War, well employed, when they
 ‘ should see the ancient Kingdom of *Austra-*
 ‘ *cia* annexed to this Crown, whose Princes
 ‘ heretofore had not only opposed *France*,
 ‘ but even ravaged and annoyed her.

3. ‘ The Guilty, the Discontented and
 ‘ Factious, losing by this Means the Facility
 ‘ of retreating from Justice, would be more

‘ cautious than heretofore, of entering into
 ‘ Cabals, and exciting Troubles and Rebel-
 ‘ lions in the State ; it being notorious that
 ‘ all the Conspirations we have seen or heard
 ‘ of against the Crown or her Ministers, had
 ‘ been hatch’d and nourish’d in the Ne-
 ‘ therlands, Lorrain, or Sedan.

4. ‘ The Power of *France* would be for-
 ‘ midable to all her Neighbours, * *but par-*
 ‘ *ticularly to the English, who are naturally*
 ‘ *jealous of her Greatness, and who will let*
 ‘ *slip no Opportunity or Occasion of injuring*
 ‘ *and reducing her, if some such powerful Ac-*
 ‘ *quisition does not take from them all Hopes*
 ‘ *of succeeding. Wherefore we may be assur-*
 ‘ *ed, that if they should know of this Nego-*
 ‘ *tiation, there is no Hazard they would not*
 ‘ *run to prevent its taking Effect, unless their*
 ‘ *present domestic Discord should tie up their*
 ‘ *Hands.*

I beseech your Lordship to reflect seriously
 on the Weight of this *fourth* Article of the
 Cardinal’s Observations on his favourite
 Scheme. Here the very Soul and Heart of
 the

* En quatrieme lieu, la puissance de la *France* se rendroit redoutable a tous ses voisins, particulierement aux *Anglois*, qui sont naturellement jaloux de sa grandeur, & qui ne laisseront echapper aucune occasion de procurer son desavantage & sa diminution, si une puissante Acquisition ne leur ete l’esperance d’y reussir. Aussi peut on etre assure que s’ils avoient connoissance d’une pareille Negociation, & que leurs discordes intestines ne les embarrassassent pas au point qu’elle font, il n’y a rien qu’ils ne hazardassent pour en empêcher l’effect.

the *French* Statesmen are laid open. You can perceive by it, what they think would be our Interest, and what we must expect, should our Divisions prevent our obstructing her enslaving Scheme. I think this Paragraph of so high Importance to an *Englishman*, that I judge it proper to let him see it in its native *French* Dress, that he may see my Sincerity and his own Danger from the ambitious Maxims of the *French* Cabinet. The Cardinal goes on.

‘ The *States General* would consider us
 ‘ more than they do, and would become
 ‘ more *tractable* ; and the Catholics in
 ‘ their Country would be more eas’d and better
 ‘ treated by them ; it being certain that
 ‘ the *Dutch* Catholics are not persecuted so
 ‘ much for their Religion, or the Hatred
 ‘ borne to it in *Holland*, as for their supposed
 ‘ Affection to the Interest of *Spain*, and that
 ‘ upon no unwarrantable Grounds.

‘ If Matters be rightly taken and well
 ‘ conducted, it cannot be apprehended, that
 ‘ Messieurs the *States* would be against this
 ‘ Exchange, it being certain that they would
 ‘ find their Account in it no less than we.
 ‘ By this means they might be assured for
 ‘ ever of enjoying the Sweets of a profound
 ‘ Peace, without being liable to that excessive
 ‘ Expence which they are and must be at,
 ‘ while the *Spaniards* are their Neighbours.
 ‘ They will have no Occasion of treating any

' more of Truces ; for if *Spain* makes a
 ' Cession of *Flanders* to his Majesty, all Oc-
 ' casions of War will cease for ever. Besides,
 ' when the *Spaniards*, who have an Interest
 ' in lessening the Power of *France*, shall yield
 ' us the *Netherlands*, they won't fail to con-
 ' vey to the *States*, rather than to us, all
 ' their Rights and Pretensions to the *United*
 ' *Provinces* ; by which means, *France* con-
 ' senting in the most solemn Manner, the
 ' *Dutch* will reap all the Advantages of an uni-
 ' versal Trade, being the natural Consequence
 ' of a settled and lasting Peace. Their Coun-
 ' try is so situated and fortified by Art and
 ' Nature, that none can hope in a Conquest
 ' of it ; nor would any but the rash and im-
 ' prudent make the Experiment ; therefore
 ' they might enjoy the Benefits of Peace, and
 ' an extended Trade, in Safety and unenvied.

5. ' Whatever *France* has to fear from
 ' the House of *Austria*, must be on the side
 ' of *Flanders* and that of *Germany*, because
 ' these Countries joining, the Forces of the
 ' different Branches of that House may
 ' easily join ; and whatever Advantages we
 ' may have against them, one Victory gain-
 ' ed by them over us, or one of our Towns
 ' on the * *Somme* taken or surprized by them,
 ' would strike a Panic into the Inhabitants of
 ' *Paris*, because of the Vicinity of that City
 ' to the present Frontiers.

6.

3. * A River in *Picardy*.

6. ' The Acquisition of the *Netherlands*
 ' would guard us from the Apprehensions
 ' for ever. There would be no Junction
 ' for the future of the Enemies Troops, as
 ' *Spain* would have no Territories on that
 ' Side, and that our extending our Fron-
 ' tiers to the *Rhine*, on the Side of *Germany*,
 ' would oblige the Emperor to be extreamly
 ' circumspect how he disobliged this Crown.
 ' And this would be the means, so desirable
 ' by *France*, to separate and disunite the two
 ' Branches of the House of *Austria*.

7. ' There is no doubt that we should
 ' soon gain the Affections of the *Flemings*,
 ' who suffer so greatly by the Oppressions
 ' of *Spain*, and the continual Wars in their
 ' Country, which has been so long the
 ' Theatre of War. They would naturally
 ' come to consider the Advantages of a
 ' lasting Peace, a full Trade, the being eased
 ' of Taxes, and many other Benefits arising
 ' from being rather subject to *France* than
 ' *Spain*.

8. ' Our Expence, far from increasing
 ' by the Acquisition of so many Towns
 ' we should find it decrease. For by not
 ' taxing the new Subjects as high as hereto-
 ' fore, we might reckon on their Affections
 ' and Duty, and we might save all the vast
 ' Expence of our present Garrisons in *Pi-*
 ' *cardy*. We might safely demolish most of
 ' the Fortifications on that Side, having no
 ' Neighbours

• Neighbours but the *States General*, from
 • whom no Attack could be apprehended
 • upon a Power so superior to theirs, and
 • which could not want the Means of resent-
 • ing and revenging the Outrage.

• In short, it would carry me too great a
 • Length, should I enumerate all the Advan-
 • tages and Conveniencies, by Trade and
 • otherwise, which so important an Acquisi-
 • tion would bring to *France*. Was it but
 • the getting *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* into our
 • Hands by it, it would be of singular Use.
 • By means of that Port, which is the most
 • commodious in those Seas, we should be
 • able to bridle both *Holland* and *England*,
 • &c.

This Piece of Cardinal *Mazarine's* own Drawing, needs no Comment, it speaks too plainly the Sense of the Court of *France*, for us to doubt that she has the same Views on *Flanders* to-day, which she had when the Cardinal wrote: And that your Lordship may be convinced that the Politics of that Court are always the same, I shall subjoin the Cardinal's Conclusion of the aforesaid Letter, wherein you will see that *France* built not only the *Pyrrenean* Treaty on that Prelate's Maxims, but that of *Utrecht* likewise, You shall see how he laid down the Doctrine of making sham *Renunciations* so long ago as 1648.

• I am

' I am much mistaken if the *Spaniards*
 ' would not rather consent to the Cession of
 ' *Flanders*, on their getting into the Possession
 ' of *Catalonia* and *Roussillon*, and having
 ' Hopes given them that they may fall on
 ' *Portugal* when the Truce is expired,
 ' without the Match with the *Infanta*, than
 ' with it in making the aforesaid Cession in
 ' her Consideration. My Reason is, that all
 ' Advantage they could propose by such a
 ' Match at present, would be to save Ap-
 ' pearances, and please themselves with the
 ' vain Satisfaction of having ceded, by way
 ' of Portion, what we had conquered from
 ' them. But as that would be only manag-
 ' ing a little Reputation among the Vulgar,
 ' we should enjoy the solid Benefit; and
 ' should the *Infanta* be once married to his
 ' Majesty, we might aspire to the Succession
 ' of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, notwith-
 ' standing any *Renunciations* she should be
 ' obliged to make. And this is no very dis-
 ' tant Prospect, since there is only the Life
 ' of her Brother that can exclude her.'

Here is a lively Portraiture of *French* Politics
 and Faith; you see how early they had it in
 view to bubble Mankind with *Renunciations*:
 And from hence, which we have seen *France*
 put in Practice in our own Days, we may
 naturally conclude she is thoroughly bent
 upon executing the other Part of that Car-
 dinal's

dinal's Scheme, in relation to *Flanders*, whenever an Opportunity offers.

I have dwelt long on this Part of my Subject, and I hope without fatiguing or displeasing your Lordship, who, I suppose, to have still an *English* Heart, and consequently a Soul above stooping to either the Frowns or Smiles of that hereditary Rival and Enemy. But that I may be at more Liberty to proceed to a Subject no less interesting at this Time of Clamour and Discontent, I will conclude here with regard to Cardinal *Mazarine's* Scheme of an *Exchange*, by shewing from the same Authority, the Turn which his Project gave to the Minds of the *Dutch*, and to the Affairs of *Europe*.

'Tis true the Prince and Princess of *Orange* went into the Cardinal's Views, though it is thought the *Spaniards* had found Means afterwards to wean the Princess from *France*; but whether it was by her means, or out of fear of the Consequence of a general Insurrection in *Holland*; or whether the Prince had more seriously reflected on the Danger of aggrandizing *France*: be the Cause what it will, he seem'd openly to oppose what he had certainly consented to in private. This Affair occasioned, that the *Dutch* no longer looking on *Spain* with Dread, and growing jealous of *France*, they clapp'd up a separate Peace with her at *Munster*, in spite of all the Artifice of the Cardinal, and the Gold
and

and Threats of his Master. And thus, for once, as it ought always, the Interest of the Public got the better of sordid private Interest. *Flanders* was saved, and in all human Probability, *Holland* and *England*, by the Alarm which *Mazarine's* Project of *Exchange* gave the Commonalty of *Holland*, who had been spirited up by the Partizans of Liberty, and the House of *Austria*.

My Lord, 'tis probable you are thoroughly knowing in these and all other Transactions of any Moment in these Days ; but as all the World are not as curious and learned as your Lordship, nor as hard to be contented, you must pardon a Digression, should you think it one, which many as dutiful Subjects as your Lordship may not be displeased with, when their Freedom is struck at by *France's* opening the Campaign in *Flanders*, where we have so much to dread, and she so much to hope for, should she be successful, thro' any Mismanagement, or too great Oeconomy of the Confederates.

It must be owing to themselves, and to us more than any, if the Confederates are foiled by a People supporting themselves more by Glare and Ostentation, than by Strength, superior Discipline, or Virtue. The Confederates have greatly the Advantage of the common Enemy, both as to Treasure, the Sinews of War, and Numbers ; they have it no less in the Justice of their Cause, Courage,
bodily

bodily Strength, and Vigour of their Men : But I confess there is one thing in which the Enemy may excel us, and by that means subdue and ruin us. 'Tis our Comfort, however, that this *unum necessarium* is attainable, tho', in my humble Opinion, by one Method only.

The only thing that can possibly give the *French* any Advantage over us, is their *Union*, and *Disunion* among the Confederates. Of the Union of the Enemy there can be no Doubt, because they have all the same Views, and are actuated by the same Interest ; but the Case may be quite different with the Confederates, though the common Interest be individually the same, and that their Views should be to pull down a Power that would level them all to the Condition of Slaves. Yet as the Confederacy will be composed of different Nations, and perhaps of Chiefs of different Notions, and with different Views, there is too much Room for apprehending that Discord and Disunion may be nourished amongst them, unless some adequate and timely Remedy be applied.

There was nothing contributed so much to the Success of the last general War against *France*, as the constant Union there was amongst the Allies, and the Harmony that subsisted between the two principal Commanders, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*. The Duke had gained so
great

great an Ascendant over all the Allies, by the Coolness of his Temper and Goodness of his Understanding, not to mention his Military Abilities, that he could easily, as he often did, reconcile them to each other and to the general Cause, as often as Jars and Strifes were bred amongst them. King *William* did the same in the preceding War; but he cemented and awed the Allies, not in the Manner the Duke of *Marlbrough* did, by Temper and Address, though he was deficient in neither, but in consequence of his exalted Station, and Power of these mighty Nations he governed. But even these Attributes added to his distinguished personal Merit, would never have given him the great Ascendant he had, and created him that Dependence he had among the Confederates, had he not commanded the combin'd Army in Person. It was his annual Appearance amongst his Allies abroad, that endear'd him to them, and particularly to the Army, where, above all Places, it is necessary to create Dependence and Respect. By his commanding personally, he prevented the bad Effects of Envy and Resentment, so natural and so usual amongst Officers of equal Rank especially: Nay, it sometimes descends from a Superior to an Inferior, but frequently ascends from the latter to the first. All this, and all *Disunion*, not only in the Camp but the Cabinet, was prevented by King *William's* commanding

ing the Confederate Army in Person. All Discord in the Camp, he instantly crush'd and banish'd by his Authority ; and the Deference or rather Submission paid him by the Army, was transplanted by the Soldiery, at their Return after the Campaign, to the Courts and Cabinets of their respective Sovereigns.

Your Lordship may easily perceive, that my Grand *Specifick* for remedying the fatal Evils accruing from *Discord* amongst the present Confederates against *France*, is his Majesty's personal Appearance at the Head of the Confederate Army. His Royal Presence will not only banish all fatal Jealousy and Disunion from the Camp, but will, as in King *William's* Case, be the means of cementing Union amongst the allied Powers. There can be no doubt, that his Majesty's commanding in the Field would have all the good Effects that can be proposed from Union amongst Allies and Confederates ; and I fear, it is not less dubious, that *Disunion* amongst them, in the Field especially, will give the Enemy too great Advantage, should the Murmur of his Subjects here, determine his Majesty not to leave the Kingdom.

Did the Murmur here at Home arise, from Concern for the Risk his precious Life would run by exposing himself to the Dangers and Fatigues of a Campaign, it would be not only excusable but laudable. But, my Lord, *some*
Pen

Pen more officious than dutiful, has taught the People to murmur at the Expence incurred by their Prince's sojourning some few Months of the Year out of the Kingdom. But whatever invidious Colours such poison'd *Pens* might give to such Excursions in Times of Peace, *Envy* itself could find no Fault or point out the Unpopularity of his Majesty's leaving the Kingdom, in order to *cement* and *unite* Allies, join'd in one common Interest, to reduce and chain up the *Gallic* Lion, whose Practice it is, *to go about seeking whom he may devour*.

I am, &c.

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